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some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

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Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbaya-Guaikurú subtribe)... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

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further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling." (41) And even in those

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaiadi--settled near the Albuquerque